THE New Republic

Gerald W. Johnson:
Joe May Go, But the McCarthyites Go On Forever
PAGE 9

"Competitive Co-Existence" The President's New Policy

AN EDITORIAL

Sentence, Then Verdict ..... *Irving Brant*

The New Giants of TVA .... *Michael Straight*

Highbrow Paperbacks ..... *Seymour Krim*

A Pie-Thrower's Memoirs..... *Gilbert Seldes*

DECEMBER 20, 1954

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T. R. B.

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Washington Wire

We watched George Humphrey, Secretary of the Treasury, last week, fascinated. He was a witness before a Congressional committee on economics. A powerful figure—the dominant figure, we imagine, in Eisenhower's Cabinet, he symbolizes power and executive ability. Humphrey was running giant firms like the M. A. Hanna Co., National Steel and the Pittsburgh Consolidation Coal Co., when he left Cleveland for Washington. He has able conservatives, Marion Folsom and Randolph Burgess around him, as likeable people as you'll find in the Capital. He is more cosmopolitan than Defense Secretary, millionaire Charley Wilson, infinitely shrewder than poor old Union League Club millionaire Sinclair Weeks, Secretary of Commerce. He is massive, humorous, square-jawed. He did not wait for Congressmen to finish their questions; he brushed them aside, interrupted and counter-attacked.

Humphrey and Joe Dodge, the millionaire Detroit banker whom Ike first made Budget Director, thought they knew the fiscal answers when they entered Washington in 1953 as a conquered city. They set out to balance the budget and slapped on a hard money policy that nearly wrecked the economy; then quickly dropped it again. Humphrey would not admit the slightest error to Congressional questioners. We have not seen such self-confidence since Taft. Taft was not arrogant: he simply always knew he was right. Taft was so certain he was right he could be rather charmingly simple and modest. Humphrey, too, knows he is right.

We got to thinking about Humphrey in the current reappraisal of the political prospects of Eisenhower which everybody is now making. Ike has Knowland and McCarthy against him, and Ike is right in both cases. Ike is splendidly and everlastingly right in his determination not to be pressured into war in Asia. This column has pointed out for two years that Ike is a well-meaning, attractive man. Now he is in a minority in Congress; he is also apparently in a minority of his own party in Congress, and he has just raised the banner of the "Progressive-Moderates." That is what Ike says he is.

For us that is also where Humphrey comes in. We know what Ike means by "Progressive-Moderate" by the men he has surrounded himself with. Dulles and Stassen want a big Asia Marshall Plan. As a "progressive" Ike thinks that would be nice, too. But as a "moderate" he turns it over to Humphrey and Dodge. Every time we think of that we chuckle. Humphrey's idea of aid to a have-not country is something that would be bankable in a Cleveland bank. Dodge would go along except that he would make it a Detroit bank.

That is the story of the Administration. Labor Secretary Mitchell, before the CIO convention, denounced the state anti-union "right-to-work" bills. Ike hastily said Mitchell was just speaking for himself. This was moderation in action. So is Dixon-Yates. So is the tapering down of GOP public-housing units to 35,000 a year—which aren't being built. So is the miniscule Eisenhower "health insurance" plan. For a good essay in moderation look at American school needs and what Mrs. Oveta Culp Hobby, Secretary of Eisenhower's Department of Health, Education and Welfare, is doing about them. She isn't doing much—just talking. In 1952 the US Commissioner of Education said total school construction needs were $10.6 billion for 312,000 classrooms. Mrs. Agnes Meyer, outspoken wife of the publisher of the *Washington Post* and an educational specialist, calls Mrs. Hobby's stand "hypocrisy" and "inexcusable dilatory procedure." Not at all! Just moderation.

The Senate condemned McCarthy 3 to 1. That was good, but Joe still hasn't answered questions about his finances. Failure to answer these was one of the counts for censure. The Watkins Committee quietly observed that no "honorable" man would let these questions go unanswered. Here are some of them: Did Joe receive gratuities from corporations at a time when he was investigating them? Did he pocket contributions made to fight Communism and speculate with it on the market? The questions aren't answered.

The way Communist China suddenly blazoned and publicized the already known fact that it is holding US fliers supports Eisenhower's thesis that Peking wants to goad Washington into retaliation. Peking created this incident at this time, and apparently did so coldly and deliberately. Far Eastern experts here ask, why? The best answer that can be figured (and one accepted by Ike) is that China's rulers need a continuing sense of outside aggression to facilitate domestic rule. Every supernationalist needs a menace; Red China looks to America to supply that role. Guaranteeing Formosa isn't enough; Peking wants us to help her out by losing our temper and shaking our fist. Maybe Knowland and McCarthy will still oblige.

Why is it that quotations get quoted and not silences? One of the noisiest silences in history is that of our own All-American Boy Nixon about McCarthy. Up to the time this is written —not a word. The reason? Probably Roy M. Cohn had it in a public address last week in New York. He explained sympathetically that it was only "a natural reaction for an ambitious politician." We think we understand. Knowland and Nixon are ambitious California rivals. Knowland by his "no-censure" vote took sides against pro-Ike forces. But our boy Dicky keeps friends with both.

Housecleaning through our November election file we came across a nostalgic AP news clipping dated New York last June 28. In this GOP Congressional campaign chairman Representative Simpson (Pa.) announced that Communism would "definitely" be an issue in the battle and that Joe McCarthy would be an "asset" to the party. "We can elect more Republicans if we use McCarthy," he said. With a sigh we tore it in two.

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BEHIND THE HEADLINES

Reunion in November?

THE Congress of Industrial Organizations, which next year in all probability will approve amalgamation with the American Federation of Labor, proved at its Los Angeles convention that it approaches the merger as a strong, vigorous, and socially responsible movement. Gone is the clap-trap talk of the past two years that the organization was "shattered," that it would disintegrate and gradually disappear, union by union, going out eventually with a whimper. On the contrary, the CIO will enter the larger federation as an entity, with its principle of industrial unionism validated and a proud record as a voice of organized liberalism.

There were no signs of timidity or organizational dry rot at Los Angeles. There was vigorous criticism of the social and economic retrogression of the Eisenhower Administration. The foreign policy resolution was both firm and enlightened: firm in its support of resistance to Communist aggression, enlightened in its plea for more economic aid to the hungry, troubled peoples of Asia and Africa. The CIO, as a labor organization that has made its progress in defiance of bitter opposition, knows the enormous values of civil liberties, and its hostility to domestic Communists is within the framework of civil liberties.

The CIO has lost none of its crusading fervor for a better deal for workers in the mass production industries, who 20 years ago lacked even the semblance of union organization. It has a goal for next year—the guaranteed annual wage, which it will seek as a major demand at collective bargaining tables. And the automobile companies and steel companies know the CIO well enough to know that the argument will be phrased with logic and passion, backed by what the workers are growing to consider their equitable rights.

The CIO and the older, more numerous AFL can approach each other with mutual confidence because the cause of their original split has been eroded by time, because the AFL's George Meany and the CIO's Walter Reuther are free of inherited personal antagonisms, because they generally agree that labor has broad liberal purposes to serve in America, because they are willing to negotiate with each other generously. In the merger, the jurisdictions and traditions of the CIO as well as of the AFL will be respected, and the whole labor movement in America will be stronger.

It will be exactly 20 years, next November 9, since the first little band of leaders formed the Committee for Industrial Organization. It may be that the occasion will be celebrated by a reunion of CIO and AFL with forces multiplied in two decades more than five times to a total of 16 million members.

The Mitchell Mystery

ONE TROUBLE with Labor Secretary James P. Mitchell is that he talks a good, enlightened pro-labor line which, taken under examination, turns out to be window dressing. The second is that it is difficult to comprehend whether he is really planning a hard drive within the Eisenhower councils to force adoption of a realistic policy, or whether he is satisfied merely to hold his Cabinet office and make speeches to business and union groups.

There is no cause to denounce Mitchell merely because President Eisenhower pulled the rug from under the Labor Secretary's attack on the 17 mislabeled State "right to work" laws (See *Washington Wire*, opposite page). As Reuther intimated, in a comment following the speech, Mr. Eisenhower seems to treat Mitchell as a second-class Cabinet officer, whereas the anti-union Commerce Secretary Sinclair Weeks, who has constantly interfered in labor policy, is given first-class billing and respect. The real secret is what is going on in Mitchell's mind.

From his experience and background, he obviously knows that it does little good for him to make speeches and send pious messages asking the 48 states "voluntarily" and individually to make prompt and major improvements in their unemployment compensation systems. He cannot expect much from a CIO convention speech urging the 17 states to repeal their union-hobbling "right to work" laws. The only sure way to get prompt improvements is by federal action—by a Congressional act lifting the minimum tolerable standards of state compensation laws and by another act amending Taft-Hartley to override the anti-union state laws.

Mitchell has been making noises, recently, like a man seriously disturbed about Weeks' interference in federal labor policy. He says he still expects the President to listen to his advice on labor matters. But the Administration is so deeply committed to a states' rights concept that only a Labor Secretary ready to match his plea for federal laws with a blunt statement that he will resign if ignored can expect to produce results. And Mitchell, so far as the public knows, hasn't even demanded federal action—far less coupled it with insistence that his counsel be accepted.

The Aged in Distress

LAST YEAR the British Labour Party undertook to raise old-age pensions to their actual purchasing power when Labour left office. And under constant Labour pressure, the Conservative Government has at last agreed to do so within a few months. The necessary bill is now before Parliament. But although the Labour Party will do nothing to obstruct its passage, there is likely to be violent argument about at least two of its provisions. In the first place, national assistance scales will be raised only a third as much as pension rates, so that the million pensioners now drawing national assistance—who obviously most need help — will benefit least, since the rise in their pension will be deducted from their national assistance grant. In the second place, the

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cost of the increase will be borne mainly by those now in work, who will have their contribution raised a shilling a head, although this is not necessary actuarially to cover the cost of the pension they themselves will ultimately draw. In Britain old-age pensions are paid by the state at a flat rate to all retired people, and are financed mainly by contributions—also at a flat rate—from employers and workers. At present the state itself contributes only one-seventh of the total to the insurance fund, though under Labour it contributed one-fifth.

These immediate issues will generate plenty of heat in the next few months, but they are overshadowed by the long-term problems revealed by the just-published report of the Phillips Committee, which has been looking 25 years ahead into the financial problems of old age. During this period the working population of Britain will increase by only 2 percent. But the numbers over pensionable age will increase by 40 percent, and the number of actual pensioners by 80 percent, since formerly excluded classes are now insured. As a result, the actuarial deficit will rise in 25 years from the present £70 million to £430 million [all to be borne by the state from general taxation unless drastic changes are made in the present system].

The Phillips Committee has suggested that the present retirement ages of 60 for women and 65 for men should in time be raised by three years, though it admits that this would not on balance bring much financial relief to the state. The government has not so far agreed to carry out this recommendation, which is strongly opposed by the Trade Unions. In fact, the key to the problem, which at first glance looks so formidable, is the 50 percent increase in the national income which can reasonably be expected during the period. If this increase of six billion pounds in the national income does take place, it should not be difficult to find the additional money for pensions, without any increase in the pensionable age or in contributions. And the best way toward solving the problem lies in organizing the pensions system so as to maximize production. For this reason an economist on the Phillips Committee suggested that pensions should be paid at the present rate and age even to people who go on working, and that a higher rate of pension should be paid to all five years later, at the ages of 65 and 70. The cost to the state of such a scheme would be outweighed by the over-all gain in production from old people who would otherwise retire from work for the sake of the pension.

This sort of solution, even if it is not adopted immediately, is likely to grow in attractiveness as time goes on. Meanwhile, some Labour theorists are suggesting that support for old age should be divorced from its insurance basis altogether, and be included in a general social-service tax graded according to income. So far, the Trade Unions oppose this conception. But as the national income rises this solution too is likely to gather more support, at least in the Labour Party.

London DENIS HEALEY, M.P.

While You Weren't Looking

Gas Going Up

IN DECIDING that the Federal Power Commission had to—it had refused to—regulate prices charged pipeline companies by natural gas producers, the Supreme Court on June 7 reasserted the purpose of the 1938 Natural Gas Act: "to protect consumers against exploitation." Much of this protection has already been nibbled away by such measures as the Hinshaw bill to exempt an increasing number of companies from control (*NR*, March 29), and the behavior of the Republican-dominated FPC. Now the nibbling has become a gnawing: during the past month, the FPC has approved, without investigation, 300 rate increases amounting to nearly $9 million—the largest total in its 25-year history.

Nearly a thousand more requests are pending—with still more arriving every day—and the lobbyists have assured the oil companies, which control 87 percent of gas production, that most of them will be approved.

Normally, when the Commission grants a rate boost, the increase is postponed for five months, then the additional revenue is bonded for some months more. During this waiting period, the FPC completes its investigation; if it finally decides against higher rates, the bonded funds are re-distributed to the consumers. But in its most recent decisions, the Commission for the first time has eliminated both the suspension period and the bond. There will be no investigation. Increases will be effective immediately; they were granted on the basis of data offered by the gas companies.

Knowing that a good thing like this won't last forever, the natural gas lobby is preparing to resurrect the old Kerr Bill which exempts the industry from all control. The fight will come next session and will cut across party lines: men from the producing states against those from the East, North and Northwest.

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Washington Wire by T.R.B. 2
Behind the Headlines 3
The Spearhead Blunted 5
by Frank Gorrell
"Competitive Co-existence" 6
an editorial
The Superficial Aspect 9
by Gerald W. Johnson
Sentence First, Verdict Afterwards 10
by Irving Brant
The New Giants of TVA 14
by Michael Straight
Books and Comment 17

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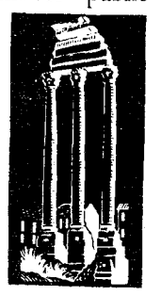
Rome Dispatch THE SPEARHEAD BLUNTED

Western Europeans of goodwill feel that they have much to be cheerful about this Christmas. The chances of maintaining the peace, or at least of avoiding atomic war, are better, it seems here in the capital city of the ruler whom Roman Catholics look to as the Vicar of Christ on earth.

Prosperity is the next item on the agenda of good cheer. In varying degrees it is present here and now this year-end in all the countries of Western Europe. This fact is politically most significant in Italy and France, the two great citadels of Western Communism. In addition, the chances are pretty good in both countries for the long-delayed economic and social reforms. Pierre Mendès-France's ability to stay in office depends in large part on his carrying out some sort of New Deal. Mario Scelba is now working in close harmony with the Italian equivalents of the New Dealers, Amintore Fanfani, head of the Christian Democratic Party and leader of its left-wing, and Giuseppe Saragat and other top figures of the Democratic Socialist Party. The reforms, when made, are likely to broaden the area of the prosperity in human terms, that is, to permit everybody (or almost) to have some share in it. Inevitably, this will tend to narrow the range and extent of the influence of Moscow's men.

Italy is the first country in Western Europe to feel—in advance—some of the direct effect on her domestic political situation of Moscow's new line—and Washington's too—of co-existence. The democratic forces on the Italian home front are boldly shifting from defense to attack.



Premier Scelba, an old, experienced and effective hand at practical anti-Communism, understands that the domestic pattern of peace and prosperity is poison to the Italian Communist Party, the largest and strongest in the Western world. He also is aware that the Kremlin's bid for co-existence gives him the chance, for which he has been waiting, to hit hard at the Italian Communists. Moscow has chosen: insofar as it wants to live in some kind of peace with Washington, it can't—or at least won't— effectively come to the aid of its men in Rome's Street of the Dark Shops, the headquarters of Palmiro Togliatti.

So Scelba has finally begun the crackdown which he promised more than 10 months ago, soon after he became head of the government. He is also fulfilling the promise he made to Secretary Dulles at their meeting in Milan during the Geneva Conference. He said then that he would guarantee to act vigorously and with a real chance of success against the Communists, provided that he were allowed to do so when he thought the time was ripe and not when—and how—the US Ambassador in Rome, Mrs. Clare Booth Luce, might choose.

That time is now. The Italian (and other Western European) Communists are strong in proportion as Moscow takes a tough line toward the West; and co-existence implies the very opposite of such a line.

Scelba's first objective is to hit at the source of supply of funds which have made the Italian CP the richest as well as the largest and strongest in the Western world. Communism in Italy is big business, strongly resembling capitalism. Partly because the Communists in the early postwar period took over Fascist assets, holdings and privileges, and partly because they have infiltrated into government office, civil services and public administration during the entire postwar period, they have won a privileged position for themselves. They control industries, banks, business houses. Through these they have made large profits, including those from a virtual monopoly of trade with China and the Eastern European satellites. Most of these profits have gone to the CP which has had more money to spend —and has in fact spent it—than all the anti-Communist parties put together.

The Italian Premier has set out to break up this great network of business activities. Within the framework of existing laws, the Cabinet has authorized him to take a number of steps, including: re-examination of all permits and authorizations of every kind; revision of administrative concessions for the use of public property; examination of the companies now allowed to bid for and have public contracts; closer supervision of all co-operative societies and of the so-called discretionary powers of state organizations; exclusion from the right to have public contracts of companies found to be "working in favor of organizations serving anti-democratic purposes" and the exclusion of such companies from concessions and permits for foreign trade.

At the same time, another set of measures are intended to get closer to the roots of the evil and to extirpate them. There will be screening processes to prevent Communists from holding key positions. All branches of the government, from top to bottom, from Rome to the remotest villages, will be forbidden to make any concessions not obligatory under the existing laws to companies, organizations or groups known to favor totalitarianism. Togliatti and his henchmen are screaming to high heaven that these steps are anti-democratic, anti-constitutional and besides that they will defeat their own purposes. Most non-Communist Italians disagree on all these counts.

What Scelba is trying to do in Italy, especially to the extent that it succeeds, is bound to influence the attitude and conduct of the French government. Of course, Mendès-France is an economist, not a policeman (or even a politician). In addition, he has seemed in the past to stand further toward the Left politically than Scelba (even a Scelba flanked by Fanfani and Saragat). Nevertheless, he is the first French Premier to get the personal support of General Charles de Gaulle, who considers the French Communists to be what he calls "separatists" —a nice name for traitors. Although the support has been on foreign policy, it is quite conceivable that the gap between Mendès-France and de Gaulle on the issue of domestic anti-Communism might narrow.

Thus, Italy which has for long been Moscow's spearhead in the West, may become the West's proving ground of methods of coping with Communist Fifth Columns in the era of co-existence.

Rome FRANK GORRELL

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EDITORIAL

Competitive Co-Existence

COMPETITIVE Co-existence is the new Eisenhower foreign policy. It is no new policy at all for the nation that was led by President Truman and Secretary Acheson. But for the Republican Party which called co-existence appeasement, if not betrayal, it is new. It means a repudiation of the "liberation" that the Republican Party advocated for Eastern Europe. It means a further repudiation of preventive war in Asia. It acknowledges that for the foreseeable future the Communist regimes cannot be dislodged short of war. And it means a refusal to initiate war to accomplish their overthrow.

This much is a reversal of an attitude voiced, if not acted upon, by the Eisenhower Administration from January, 1953, to June, 1954. During that period the leaders of the Administration held that the Communist regimes were unstable and could be bent, if not broken, by force or the threat of force.

There was reason to regard the Soviet and satellite regimes as unstable during the months of flux that followed Stalin's death and led to the Berlin uprising. But with the consolidation of the new regime in Moscow, and the maintenance of Communist rule in the satellite nations, the Dulles concept of liberation became attainable in the short term only by war. And since the Administration made the terrible, if necessary, decision that any war fought in Europe would be fought with nuclear weapons, that decision reinforced the impossibility of liberation as an objective of the NATO powers. Yet no new political policy was permitted to take its place. Instead, liberation as a potential goal of NATO emerged as a silent concomitant of the decision to arm a sovereign Germany. While the German divisions remained on paper, NATO could discount the murmurs of aggressive war. But for these murmurs the London and Paris Accords acted as an amplifier. The accords do not in themselves create a German force capable of threatening Russia. The United States continues as the sole source of nuclear weapons for the European armies, and as the main supplier of heavy weapons while an American general remains in supreme command. But they do create an armed force that might be used as the pretext for war against Russia given anything less in Washington than a wholehearted dedication to peace. For this reason it was wise for the President again to rule out the preventive war doctrine and to advance the alternative doctrine of competitive co-existence, both to reassure the French Assembly and to make as certain as we can that the violent protests of the Kremlin stop short of armed intervention to prevent the formation of the German divisions.

So President Eisenhower has balanced the new accords on Germany with a new emphasis on co-existence. In this sense, competitive co-existence means something less than recognition of the permanence of the division of Europe. It means a renewal of the assurance, contained in the Brussels Pact that the present frontiers will not be revised by force. It means less a softening of allied policy than an effort to prevent a hardening in Soviet policy.

IN THE Far East, in contrast, competitive co-existence means an important shift in mood, as well as a repudiation of two basic assumptions of Republican policy—that the Peking regime is unstable, and that it can be overturned without a world war.

Since January, 1953, the Administration's highest advisers, Admiral Radford and Walter Robertson, Assistant Secretary of State for the Far East, have argued that the Peking regime is not yet consolidated, and must now be broken. They have held that it can be broken by bombing and blockade, and President Eisenhower himself has furthered the illusion that Chiang Kai-shek could successfully invade the mainland with no more than American material aid. These now-rejected assumptions led naturally to the decision of April, 1954, to undertake armed intervention in the Indo-China War, and although Dulles was bluffing then in proposing an air strike, Admiral Radford was not bluffing. Radford granted the risk of involvement with Communist China, but he believed that any opportunity should be seized upon to engage Communist China in war. He argued that China could be bombed with impunity because Peking could not successfully fight back. He argued further that if Peking did fight back, Russia would not honor her commitment to defend her partner. Pressed further, Radford added *better now than later,* the presentable if not persuasive argument for preventive war.

It was strategic error and political suicide to advocate the extension of the war in Indo-China. Yet the Vice President followed Radford in predicting the engagement of American troops while the President seemed to endorse the action by announcing that if Indo-China fell all Asia would follow—an unwarranted statement and one that could only be advanced in order to prepare public opinion for war.

The British on that occasion saved the President from

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himself. Then on November 23 Peking presented a third opportunity for preventive war by announcing the detention of the American prisoners. True to their policy of seizing on every opportunity to extend the conflict with China, Senator Knowland and his counterparts in the Pentagon again proposed responding by force—in the form of a blockade. Mr. Dulles wavered, but the President called instead for diplomacy, directed by the United Nations. Blockade, said the President in his statement of December 8, was an act of war and:

> We owe it to ourselves and to the world to explore every possible peaceable means of settling differences before we even think of such a thing as war.

The Eisenhower Administration, in other words, is not looking for provocations. Instead it is demonstrating a willingness to live indefinitely with a situation it dislikes but sees no easy way of changing the Communist domination of China. In the half-hidden, indirect manner that marks progress in the Cold War, the United States Government is now offering a kind of unacknowledged, *de facto* recognition of the Communist regime. Instead of seeking to overturn the existing situation in Asia, the President seeks to stabilize it.

THE PRESIDENT proposes no formal recognition of the Peking regime, for he regards recognition not as China's right to demand but as our gift to bestow or to withhold. He is proposing no shift in the US attitude in the UN, at least as long as Peking violates the terms of the UN armistice in Korea. He is encouraging no relaxation of trade controls, which he regards as a necessary means of delaying China's military build-up. He is abandoning none of our costly and doubtless futile efforts in South Viet-Nam to prevent the area from passing under the complete control of the Communist Viet-Minh.

In the critical areas of Korea and China, however, the President has moved already to express his new policy of stabilization in formal accords. The new agreement with President Rhee guarantees the Republic of Korea against invasion but prohibits it from attacking North Korea. In the same way the new Military Defense Pact with the Chinese Nationalists guarantees Formosa and the Pescadores against attack but adds that this is the limit of our commitment to Chiang Kai-shek. Once ratified by the Senate this pact makes permanent the intent of the Administration to withhold Formosa from the Communists and removes it as a bargaining point in diplomacy. But it also shelves the "unleashing" policy that sought to revive the Chinese civil war. It seeks to separate two sovereign powers, Formosa and China. It assures the Communist leaders that the US is not promoting the Nationalists as an instrument of Communist overthrow, in the hope that under these circumstances Peking will not look on the continued existence of the Nationalists on Formosa as a threat grave enough to justify war with the United States.

Here, as in Germany, the President has moved to avert Communist action at a time when Anti-American propaganda is rising to new heights in Peking. The danger of war in Asia does, however, remain acute. For the Nationalists, unlike the West Germans, have an almost admitted incentive to precipitate a general war. And regrettably the incentive is kept alive by the ambiguity of our position. We are committed to fight beside the Nationalists in Formosa and the Pescadores. But they also hold the Tachens and Matsu which are not a part of the Formosa chain but outposts of the Chinese mainland, 18 miles off the China coast. The Nationalists further maintain 30,000 troops on Quemoy, an island actually inside the mainland harbor of Amoy. Quemoy is within easy range of mainland artillery and invasion craft. Yet we have permitted its capture to be intepreted as our defeat. The Nationalists hold these islands less as bridges for invasion than as political and psychological symbols of their intent to return to China. And Chiang, with his 900 generals on full pay, his 1,863 governing bodies already organized for all the provinces of China, his troops who look on their existence on Formosa as "living death," must plan to return. Knowing this, the Chinese Communists are under the heaviest pressure to capture nearby islands. But while retention of the islands is contrary to the new Eisenhower policy, our attitude in the event they are invaded is unknown. The Administration is choosing the course of indecision, but if its indecision continues when the islands are attacked, they may still serve as the means by which the Nationalists draw the US and China into a full-scale war.

If this is true, then whether or not Peking and Moscow respond intelligently to the shift in US policy, there are bound to be moments of crisis over the next two years. During these moments, if the President clings to his new policy of restraint, he will come under new and perhaps sharper attack from the Republican right-wing. Its leaders are men of conviction, and because there is some logic in their conviction it is worth treating their position with respect.

IT IS Senator Knowland's belief that time is on the Communist side. He does not assume our political and economic inferiority in the West where European recovery is gaining momentum. He does believe that Russia is gaining the military power to devastate the United States. It is his fear that, confronted by this power, the US will go to almost any length to avoid world war. Therefore, he argues, the way will be open for Russia to undertake a series of small aggressions, no one of which will seem worth fighting over, but all of which taken together will amount to the victory of world Communism.

As a theoretical argument Senator Knowland's case is persuasive. And yet it lacks supporting evidence over the period in which Russia has in fact possessed the power that the Senator fears. The possession of nuclear weapons has not incited a new aggressiveness in the Kremlin, and probably for sound reasons.

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First, it seems probable that the Soviet rulers have correctly assessed the destructive power of nuclear weapons. They may have concluded that while conventional wars can still be won in the sense of advancing national objectives, there is by definition no victory worth winning in nuclear war.

Second, world revolution and national survival may be undergoing a shift in relative importance as the objectives of the Soviet State. For the Soviet system like all others is subject to change. In Soviet society, as in all others, industrialization creates its own castes and classes, its own values, its own emphasis on material comforts that take precedence over international revolutionary crusades. There remains, of course, in the Kremlin a continuing refusal to accept the legitimacy of other states. There is further a contrary need to cite the hostility of the non-Communist world to justify continuing dictatorship and misery. But there also appears to be a new evaluation of existing misery and a new intent to overcome it which may or may not succeed. These factors among others make possible co-existence if not peace. The Kremlin's objective is still not to agree but to divide. But as long as it does not make preventive war its own policy, preventive war is not a necessary or proper course for the West.

Nonetheless, Senator Knowland and those who share his convictions argue with still greater force that in Asia time is on the Communist side. Communism, they hold, is well suited to the present ambitions of Africa, Asia and the Near East for rapid industrialization and modernization regardless of the human cost. China, they add, is the natural leader of Asia, and the vigor of Chinese Nationalism that the Communists have taken over is Asia's greatest force. Communism, the argument continues, has not yet gained control of the minds and skills of 600 million Chinese. When it does, Asia is lost and with it perhaps the world. Therefore, *better now than later* when no Communist air force can defend from an air attack the coastal cities, the rail junctions, the new factories and mines that are rising in Manchuria.

Hold it, George—we've decided to try for a balanced world

In our opinion this argument is both morally unacceptable and politically unwarranted.

In manpower, in skill, in resources and in ideas the potentials of the non-Communist nations exceed those of the Communist side. The test is simply the capacity of the non-Communist world to organize its potential and put that potential to work in ways acceptable to the peoples of underdeveloped areas.

The need is a new vision of what the non-Communist nations by common effort can achieve and a new program to bring the vision closer to reality. This is the positive aspect of competitive co-existence without which, admittedly, the doctrine is unworkable and perhaps even self-defeating.

The President understands this. His Administration is contemplating a world economic program on a major scale. It calls for expenditures of $2 billion or more a year for the underdeveloped nations, raised first by grants, next by government loans and third by private investment. In principle the program is admirable. In practice its enactment may be blocked by a Republican Party that pays homage to the end in view, and then refuses to pay the costs of moving toward that end. On the basis of past statements and actions, it is fair to suggest that there will be no effective, long-range US economic program for Asia if it is to be charted and carried through by the business-and-budget-minded Republican leaders in the President's Cabinet or on the Hill. With responsible Democratic backing, however, the program is possible.

TO THE extent that competitive co-existence does gain adherents among representative Republicans, they will in many cases be men who accept it because of its promise of relaxed tensions, who believe it offers the easiest path toward the ever-pursued and never-attained balanced budget. Herein lies another danger. For optimism of this kind might encourage the economy-minded to urge further reductions in our defense spending, reductions inspired less by lowered need than by a desire to cut taxes.

Those who support the President's plan for generous use of American wealth and technique for rapid Asian economic development will have a right to say they accept the President's new co-existence concept. But those who oppose this effort cannot claim the optimism the concept implies; for them logic leads to Senator Knowland's unnamed solutions and his mounting fears.

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GERALD W. JOHNSON

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The Superficial Aspect

McCARTHY'S assault on Eisenhower presumably marks the beginning of the last act of this particular burlesque of statecraft. It is typical of such shows. The fatality attending the career of an American demagogue is the necessity of being continuously entertaining, which involves going into wilder and wilder extravagances, attacking shinier and shinier targets. The shiniest of all targets is the President of the United States, and when the demagogue has attacked the President he is usually through.

But when a politician is a true demagogue, that is, one who has nothing to offer except demagoguery, the time comes when he must attack the President or allow the dramatic tension of his performance to slacken and so lose the center of the stage. Thus Huey Long had to attack Roosevelt, thus J. Thomas Heflin had to attack Wilson, and by the same token McCarthy had to attack Eisenhower. Failure to do so would have been followed by boos from the gallery or the silence of a deserted house.

The sorry aspect of it—from the demagogue's standpoint—is that when the attack has been made, the boos and the ensuing silence follow anyhow. For the attack never succeeds. Andrew Johnson was the only President ruined by demagogic assault, but Thad Stevens was a far stronger man than McCarthy, while Johnson was actually a Democrat elected on the Republican ticket. Conditions are far different now. After last month's election every rational politician must realize that Eisenhower is by long odds the greatest, if not the only asset the Republican Party has left. It would be suicide for the party to allow him to be sacrificed to sate the vengeance of one discredited Senator.

It is characteristic of the demagogue facing the awful truth that Nemesis is upon him to develop a Samson complex and decide to pull down the temple to make a defiant and spectacular finish. If McCarthy could, in fact, wreck Eisenhower he would rival his Biblical prototype — he would slaughter more Republicans by his political death than he had slain in all his political life. But it is a safe bet that the average Republican politician is not of a mind to be squashed under the ruins in order to make a fine funeral for McCarthy.

In all probability McCarthy's future is foreshadowed by the last year or two in the Senate of J. Thomas Heflin. The man is so completely forgotten now that the handier reference books do not mention his name, but time was when he was regarded as a Menace with a capital M. He was a Senator from Alabama who gained, and richly earned, the cognomen of Tom-Tom in recognition of his loud and empty clanging. Tom-Tom was opposed to practically everything, but his three pet aversions were the Pope, the Negro and his party leader, who was Woodrow Wilson. He assailed them as violently as McCarthy has assailed Communists, intellectuals and his party leader.

But Tom-Tom eventually exhausted his entertainment value, and for his last year or two his sole function was to provide frequently an informal recess for the rest of the Senate. Whenever he took the floor, any honorable member desiring the solace of a cigar ambled out into the cloakroom and every correspondent with a yen for a few hands of stud poker quit the press gallery. It was safe to do so, for everybody knew that Tom-Tom would give vent to nothing except vituperation of the Papacy, the Presbyterian and the Brother in Black, as he had 30 times before.

AFTER January McCarthy, deprived of a committee chairmanship, will continue to sit in the Senate and no doubt will continue to bellow; but it is highly probable that ere "Spring comes back with rustling shade and apple blossoms fill the air" he will be bellowing to empty seats and a vacant press gallery. For the vote of censure was well received by press and public, which is a sure indication that the people are getting tired of McCarthy; and no Senator stands in awe of a man who bores the public.

Yet the intelligent should not allow this pleasing prospect to beguile them into being at ease in Zion. McCarthy may be on his way out, but the McCarthyites remain. Jim Farley's secret check of Huey Long's strength in 1936 suggested that the predestined victims of demagoguery constitute perhaps three percent of the population, which would make them five million strong at present. By the time McCarthy is plainly through we may rely on it that some other tin-plate Paladin will be thumping his tub and collecting the plaudits and the cash contributions of the vacant-skulled.

If it isn't Tom-Tom it is Huey, and if it isn't Huey it is Joe, and if it isn't Joe it will be the same old wizard, changed in name but not in nature.

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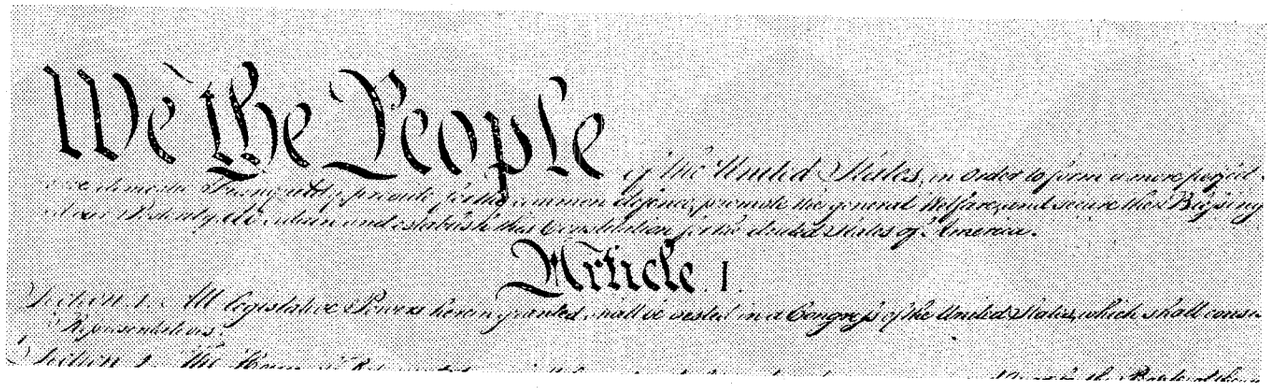
We the People of the United States, in order to form a more perfect
Union, establish Justice, insure domestic Tranquility, provide for the common defence, promote the general Welfare, and secure the Blessings
of Liberty to ourselves and our Posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America.

Article. I.

Section. 1. All legislative Powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, which shall consist
of a Senate and House of Representatives.

Section. 2. The House of Representatives

Sentence First, Verdict Afterwards

by Irving Brant

MOVING toward the Supreme Court is a series of cases raising for the third time in the nation's history a question that would have been thought archaic half a century ago—whether compulsory loyalty oaths and similar tests are bills of attainder, forbidden to both Congress and state legislatures. Back of this is a much broader question—whether the whole pattern of prosecution and persecution by Congressional committees and executive agencies does not fall within the constitutional ban on bills of attainder.

The current issue is the constitutionality of the 1952 Gwinn Amendment to the National Housing Act. It provides, "That no housing unit constructed under the United States Housing Act of 1937, as amended, shall be occupied by a person who is a member of any organization designated as subversive by the Attorney-General." To enforce this provision, housing-authority regulations having the force of law require tenants and applicants to take an oath that they do not belong to any such organization.

Gwinn Amendment cases dot court calendars from coast to coast—two in New York, five or six in Chicago, five in Los Angeles, others in Washington, D. C., Newark, Buffalo, Milwaukee, Denver, Richmond (California) and Seattle—but in many the constitutional issue is being evaded because housing authorities have the power to evict tenants without giving reasons. The Washington case of Rudder *v.* Housing Authority was disposed of in that way at the lowest level, but then the Municipal Court of Appeals held that the constitutionality of the law should be considered; it proceeded to uphold the law, but the United States Court of Appeals has recently granted a motion to appeal. Rudder, the plaintiff, refused to make the required affidavit and was given notice of eviction with no reason stated. There is nothing in the record to show that he is a member of any listed organization. The case as it will be presented to the next-to-the-highest court is purely one of principle.

The general status of test oaths was supposed to have been settled in 1867, when the Supreme Court, in a suit brought by a Catholic priest, stamped as a "bill of attainder" a Missouri law which required elected officials, lawyers, clergymen and some others to swear that they had neither taken part in nor manifested sympathy for what was then impolitely called the Rebellion. "A bill of attainder," the Court said in Cummings *v.* Missouri (4 Wallace 277) "is a legislative act which inflicts punishment without a judicial trial." Our political institutions, Justice Stephen J. Field continued, rest on the theory that "in the pursuit of happiness all avocations, all honors, all positions, are alike open to every one, and that in the protection of these rights all are equal before the law. Any deprivation or suspension of these rights for past conduct is punishment, and can be in no other wise defined."

The punishment being inflicted directly by the legislature on specified classes of persons, the court held, the law was a bill of attainder and therefore unconstitutional.

For Americans of the pre-Dies, pre-McCarthy portion of the twentieth century, the term "bill of attainder" in the Constitution used to mean a quaintly horrible relic of medieval England, in a class with the Star Chamber, the Bloody Assizes, and all the other spattered flagstones on the long road from tyranny to freedom. A few history professors knew the infamous story of Titus Oates, the renegade priest on whose lying story of a Popish plot, dozens of innocent Catholics were thrown into prison, denied counsel, convicted on the secret testimony of unseen witnesses and put to death. Some professors (not always the same ones) had heard of the way the deposed James II countered this action when he got control of Ireland—hanging, by means of a bill of attainder, nearly 3,000 named Protestants and a goodly number of Catho-

Irving Brant is now at work on Volume V of his biography of James Madison.

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lics to whom his legislative stooges owed some money.

That was the bill of attainder in its classic form: the punishment was death. With a lesser penalty, said our Supreme Court in the 1867 decision, it was a bill of pains and penalties, but "within the meaning of the Constitution, bills of attainder include bills of pains and penalties." The subject of attainder (though not of oaths) came before the Court again in 1946, after Congress singled out three "irresponsible, unrepresentative, crackpot, radical bureaucrats" (the words are those of Martin Dies) and barred them forever from the federal payroll. Speaking through Justice Hugo Black (328 US 303), the Supreme Court struck this down as a bill of attainder, using words which seemed to bridge the distance back to Titus Oates and King James:

> When our Constitution and Bill of Rights were written, our ancestors had ample reason to know that legislative trials and punishments were too dangerous to liberty to exist in the nation of free men they envisioned.

In 1950 came the court test of the Taft-Hartley non-Communist oath. The Douds Case (339 US 382) dealt with the same form of attainder that was stricken down in 1867. It involved an even greater challenge to liberty than the one so clearly seen in 1946. But in four years there had been two drastic changes of environment. The Court found itself in a milieu of Cold War fear and passion analogous to that which the Civil War justices so courageously resisted, and it no longer had its like-minded 1946 majority. Harlan Stone, Wiley Rutledge and Frank Murphy were dead.

THE late Chief Justice Fred M. Vinson wrote the Court's opinion in the Douds case. His problem was to uphold the oath without overruling Cummings *v.* Missouri, and it may be doubted whether so monstrously inept a job of reasoning has been done since another Chief Justice, Roger B. Taney, delivered the Dred Scott opinion on March 6, 1857. In the Cummings Case, the Court had declared that in the imposition of the test oath, the Missouri legislature "presumes the guilt and adjudges the punishment conditionally" of all the persons in the classes to which the oath applied. The penalty could be escaped only by the expurgatory oath. Applying this to Taft-Hartley, Congress created a legal presumption that every labor union officer is a subversive. It imposed on every one of them a conditional punishment—loss of his livelihood—which could be escaped only by taking the oath prescribed in the law.

Under the 1867 precedent, the Taft-Hartley oath appears to be the clearest sort of a bill of attainder. To escape this conclusion the Court pointed out, first, that the Civil War oath set up a permanent penalty. Not so Taft-Hartley. "There is no one," wrote Chief Justice Vinson, "who may not, by a voluntary alteration of the loyalties which impel him to action, become eligible to sign an affidavit." Actually, such a "voluntary alteration" would be quite likely to land a man in jail for perjury. Disregarding that, one need only point out that in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, thousands of persons *escaped* bills of attainder by the exact method the Supreme Court advanced in 1950 to prove their *non-existence*: they changed their religion or their politics to fit the change of monarchs. The Court's argument could be paraphrased to read: "Ability to dodge a pistol shot proves that no gun was fired."

IN ADDITION, the Court observed, the test oath after the Civil War concerned past actions, whereas the Taft-Hartley oath is based on a Congressional judgment that the present and past loyalties of Communists "will be transformed into future conduct"—that is, into future misconduct. But does the intention of future harmful conduct convert a bill of attainder into constitutional legislation? If it does, the Constitution should be amended to read:

> No bill of attainder shall be passed, except that Congress may inflict punishment without a judicial trial whenever it concludes that the beliefs and loyalties of any class of citizens will be transformed into future conduct dangerous to the country.

The Gwinn Amendment, apart from its supporting oath, is subject to attack both as a bill of attainder and on other constitutional grounds. With the oath, it is the complete counterpart of the Missouri law outlawed in 1867. It "presumes the guilt and adjudges the punishment conditionally" of all public-housing tenants and applicants for leases. The penalty can be escaped only through an expurgatory oath. Under the rule of Cummings *v.* Missouri, that is a bill of attainder.

The Vinson Court evaded that definition in the Douds Case by setting up a doctrine of public danger. Congress, the then Chief Justice said, unquestionably has power to prevent political strikes. It could rationally find that the Communist Party and other believers in forcible overthrow of the government would utilize positions of union leadership to bring about such strikes for political advantage. The oath requirement "bears reasonable relation to the evil which the statute was designed to reach."

It is not quite clear whether that reasoning takes the Taft-Hartley oath out of the classification of a bill of attainder, which it otherwise would have been, or whether the Court was saying that in the area of political strikes, the power of Congress to regulate commerce is superior to the clause of the Constitution which says that it shall not pass bills of attainder. In either case, it sets up standards of constitutionality which the Gwinn Amendment cannot meet, unless the Court is now ready to say that the security of the nation is endangered by the leasing of public-housing units to persons who, with or without subversive intent, are members of organizations

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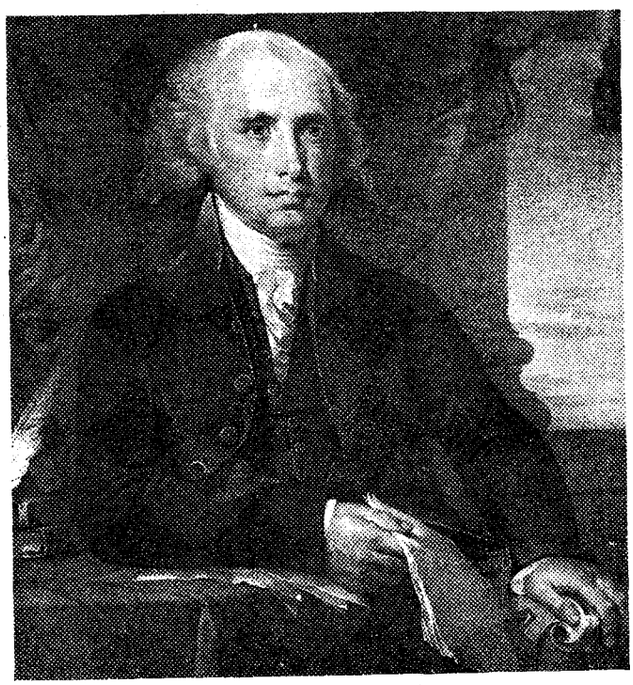
which the Attorney-General has designated as subversive.

In brief, the Supreme Court cannot uphold the housing oath without further abandoning its historic position on bills of attainder. There are several reasons for doubting that it will do so. To begin with, in the Douds Case two members of the majority, Justices Felix Frankfurter and Robert Jackson, wrote separate opinions divorcing themselves from implications that the government could gauge the nuances of loyalty and subversion in persons who had not taken out Communist cards. Also, to the extent that changes in the Court's membership since 1950 have been tested, a return toward prior and higher concepts of civil liberties is visible. Finally, there are signs that the general public is beginning to emerge from the political miasma which has cast a black fog of fear and suspicion over the country during the past half dozen years. If that continues, the question as to the Court will be, not whether it will go in the same direction, but whether it will follow or lead.

There will be a distinct gain if the Supreme Court merely calls a halt to the continuing erosion of the Bill of Rights. It will be a gain of far-reaching significance if that process is begun by striking down the Gwinn Amendment as a bill of attainder.

What did the founders of our government think about bills of attainder? The men who framed the Constitution omitted a Bill of Rights (added in the first Ten Amendments) because they thought it unnecessary in a government of enumerated powers. On two subjects, however, they felt such deep concern that they planted guarantees in the original document—a clause safeguarding the right of habeas corpus and two separate clauses forbidding bills of attainder—one directed against Congress, the other against the states.



James Madison

When Patrick Henry called upon the Virginia Convention of 1788 to reject the Constitution because it contained no Bill of Rights, Governor Edmund Randolph taunted him with the fact that during the Revolution, he sponsored a bill of attainder against the Loyalist outlaw Josiah Phillips. Instead of pleading wartime necessity or passion, Henry replied that Phillips "was no Socrates" —words which so shocked the convention that they went far to weaken the fight against ratification.

If our forefathers were shocked at the suggestion that only the noblest and wisest of men were entitled to immunity from bills of attainder, what would they think of their country today, when Socratic defiance of public opinion is the surest road to punishment without a judicial trial? What, for instance, would be their reaction to attainder of individuals or groups by Congressional denunciation? There happens to be a record on that.

IN 1794, when Americans friendly to the French Revolution were throwing their neighbors into fits by organizing "Democratic Societies," excitement was raised to frenzy by the Whisky Rebellion against excise taxes. Federalists who saw a chance to destroy the Democratic Societies promptly associated them with the insurrection and persuaded President Washington to place these damning words in one of his messages to Congress:

> The arts of delusion were no longer confined to the efforts of designing individuals. . . . Certain self-created societies assumed the tone of condemnation.

That was all, but it led to a cry for destruction of the Democratic Societies and to a motion in the House of Representatives to reprobate them. James Madison, who five years earlier had put the Bill of Rights through the House, denied the constitutional power of Congress to adopt such a resolution. He declared:

> If we advert to the nature of republican government, we shall find that the censorial power is in the people over the government, and not in the government over the people.

The investigative power of Congress, Madison told his colleagues, is limited to inquiry into the conduct of individuals in the public service. "Opinions are not the subject of legislation." This motion, he said, was an abuse of the reserved rights of the people, and what would be the effect on the people thus condemned? Said the Father of the Constitution:

> It is in vain to say that this indiscriminate censure is no punishment. . . . Is not this proposition, if voted, a bill of attainder?

The resolution was defeated. One year later, two real-estate speculators tried to buy public lands by offering shares in their company to members of Congress. In a lie of the "come-on" variety, they told certain members that 30 or 40 others had agreed to their scheme. The House thereupon cited them for breach of privilege and summoned them to appear before it for trial and

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punishment, meanwhile jailing them. Edward Tilghman, Philadelphia's foremost legal scholar, defended them. By drawing from every jittery Congressional witness a denial that he had been offered, much less had accepted, a bribe, Tilghman cut the case down to mere false remarks made by the defendants. Did Congress, he asked, have power to put a halt to conversations out of doors? What kind of a court of law was this, in which the members were at once parties, judges and witnesses?

Defendant Randall was found guilty and sent back to jail, from which Defendant Whitney was now brought for trial. At this point, Madison and Page challenged the constitutional power of the House to do what it was doing. The House voted to discharge Whitney, then confronted by the ludicrous inconsistency of its course, ordered Randall set free.

Six years later, in 1800, the Senate ordered Publisher William Duane to appear before it for trial on a charge of seditious libel and forbade his lawyers to discuss the constitutionality of the action. Duane defiantly refused to appear under that restriction and the sergeant-at-arms (who may have received a hint) was totally unable to find him through the dusty windows of the *Aurora* office. At the end of the session the Senate recommended the case to the courts; it perished with the election returns.

IN 1832, when life in Washington was merry and dangerous, General Sam Houston, a one-armed man carrying a walking stick, was brought before the bar of the House to be tried and punished for caning a Congressman who carried two pistols. Houston's lawyer was Francis Scott Key, whose lifelong defense of civil liberties gives additional luster to the *Star Spangled Banner*. Key put the House in hot water by moving that, as its members were acting as jurors, none should vote who had openly expressed an opinion unfavorable to the accused. After an hour's parboiling, he withdrew his motion and proceeded to deny the constitutionality of the proceeding. Houston was found guilty and received a slap on his one remaining wrist—a trivial reprimand—during the administration of which his accusers slumped in their seats and his defenders beamed. One of the latter, taking the floor, likened the scene to what took place when an English judge ordered an old soldier from his court for contempt. The veteran raised the stump of an arm and said to the judge: "You can send me away, but I lost this arm giving you the right to sit where you are."

Although Congress did not in any instance confess its lack of power, every one of these early violations of the Constitution ended in fiasco. That eliminated the incentive for judicial tests of legality through habeas corpus or other means. However, it seems plain enough that in the Randall-Whitney, Duane and Houston cases, each House was trying to do by itself what the two of them combined had no power to do. An act of Congress to punish any of these persons would clearly be a bill of attainder. If either House, acting alone, can inflict punishment without a judicial trial, then the constitutional provision prohibiting bills of attainder is a fraud.

Finally, there is the question whether the Executive branch of government does not come within the constitutional prohibition of bills of attainder when it inflicts punishment without a judicial trial. On this point there has already been a word, though not a decisive one, from the Supreme Court. Concurring in the 1951 decision (341 US 123) that the blacklisting of any organization by the Attorney-General without a hearing was an "arbitrary fiat" which violated Due Process, Justice Black added his belief that the Attainder Clause applies as much to the President and Cabinet as to Congress:

> I cannot believe that the authors of the Constitution, who outlawed the bill of attainder, inadvertently endowed the executive with power to engage in the same tyrannical practices that had made the bill such an odious institution.

If Madison was correct in denying the power of the House to punish Randall and Whitney, and if his contention that censure of the Democratic Societies would be a bill of attainder can be applied to similar actions a thousand times worse, the combining of these two conclusions leads to this one:

The whole system of indictment and punishment by denunciation is a violation of the Attainder Clause of the Constitution, no matter whether it proceeds from the whole Congress, from the Houses separately, from Congressional committees or from the Attorney-General's office. It does not follow that this clause offers the best legal resort in all such cases, or that it applies to everything that violates the spirit of the prohibition. It does not, for instance, cover the outrageous evil of slanderous speeches cloaked by Congressional immunity. Yet it has a bearing even on that. Strong and fearless courts, joined by the decent majority found in both Houses of Congress, can wipe out the whole disease through a three-fold remedy:

1. Let the courts be governed by the spirit of the ban on bills of attainder, as far as they reasonably can, in determining its legal scope.

2. Let the generic purpose of the Attainder Clause be one of the tests of that due process of law which is made mandatory throughout our government.

3. Let each House of Congress uphold the spirit of the Attainder Clause in exercising its constitutional power to punish members for disorderly conduct (as in the slanderous assaults on General George Marshall) or to expel them.

Today's bill of attainder is not so tall as a gibbet. The victims of it are not hanged, drawn and quartered. Why should they be? By smiting a man day after day with slanderous words, by searing him with the heat of mass communication, by taking away his opportunity to earn a living, you can drain the blood from his veins without even scratching his skin.

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Portraits From the Valley—III

The New Giants of TVA

by Michael Straight

MOST OF US think first of the dams when we think of TVA. And no wonder. In all the Tennessee Valley region there is no structure more beautiful than Fontana, high in the Smokies, none larger than Kentucky, that spreads the Tennessee River to a mile's width, none more memorable in the life of the nation than Wilson, none more touching than Norris, named for the gentle Nebraskan who looked at Wilson on behalf of a Senate investigating committee, and saw very much more.

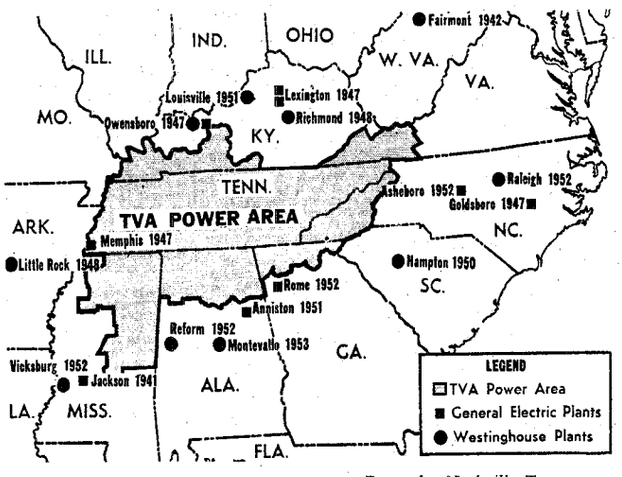
In the vision of George Norris that was realized the dams were part of a far larger scheme. Congress, under Norris' guidance, created the Tennessee Valley Authority among other purposes "to provide for reforestation and the proper use of marginal lands in the Tennessee Valley" and "to provide for the agricultural and industrial development of said valley." TVA followed the directive. It transformed valley agriculture through 30,000 demonstration farms. It developed through its Commerce Department a small tractor for the hillsides of the valley, and a hay drier that saved small farms. It raised and planted 300 million seedlings over 20 years. It brought about a new approach in the valley states to recreation, erosion, the conservation of wild life and the prevention of forest fires. It brought malaria, which infected 65 percent of residents in the flatlands of the valley, down to an incidence of one-tenth of one percent. It brought cheap fertilizer to the farms through a higher concentration of phosphates. It established research departments to develop the valley's resources and sent traveling libraries through communities where, for adults, books were unknown.

All these enterprises were created to inspire, not to replace the state governments. As the state administrations established their own resource development programs, as the communities built their own libraries, as the towns took over the boat basins on the lakes made by the dams, TVA moved on to new projects—that is, to the extent permitted by Congress. The unchanging contribution of the agency remained navigation, flood control, and the generation through falling water in Norris' words "of what men for want of a better name have called electricity."

Minor projects aside, twenty-nine multipurpose dams have been built in 20 years by the TVA. They have added 3.5 million kilowatts of capacity to the nation's power supplies, and their contribution is substantially completed. Today, apart from a few sites on the Cumberland River, the hydroelectric potential of the Tennessee River and its tributaries is fully realized. Until atomic power takes over, the future of TVA and the region lies in steam.

Within sight of Wilson stands an old steam plant. It was built in 1919 and one kilowatt hour of electricity forced from its ancient boilers costs as much as 16 from Wilson Dam. The boilers are still fired, the smoke from its charred stack still blackens the sky. But the plant no longer is typical. At Rogersville, where the Tennessee Valley starts, at Shawnee where it ends, at Kingston, Colbert, Johnsonville, white stacks rise 250 feet high. There the new giants stand; the steam plants developed by TVA engineers that are the largest and most efficient in the world. Already they provide almost one-half of TVA's total capacity of 6.5 million kilowatts. They provide practically all of TVA's planned expansion. Around them rages the central controversy of the future of TVA. Twenty years ago visitors to the Tennessee Valley, myself included, gasped at the enormity of Norris Dam as its concrete shoulders were first braced against the steep banks of the Clinch River. Norris boasted 108,000 kilowatts of electric power capacity, twice the capacity of the average steam plant. Today the Shawnee steam

The Boycott of the Valley



From the *Nashville Tennessean*

Electric users in the TVA area consume two times as much power as the nation at large and purchase 20 percent more electric appliances. Their purchases of $1,300 million worth of electric appliances since the war have led to the construction of a number of plants to meet the needs of the Valley. These plants, however, have not been placed in the Valley area. The reason, in the opinion of Valley residents, has been the close relationship between appliance industry and the private utilities who continue to war upon TVA.

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plant has a planned capacity of 1,350,000 kilowatts; Kingston a capacity of 1,440,000.

The management of the private utilities ridiculed plants of this size when they were first projected by TVA engineers. Once again TVA assumed the risks for risk-taking private enterprise and showed the private utilities the way to lower costs and higher profits. The savings in fuel and labor have brought down the costs at the new steam plants to the levels approaching hydroelectric power. The Wilson steam plant generates electric power at 8 mills a kilowatt hour; Johnsonville for less than 3.

Thus a new yardstick is held up to the private utilities which generate power for five mills on the average in steam plants and retail it for three cents. With this new yardstick is introduced a new claim advanced by the utilities, that the construction of publicly owned steam plants in the valley violates the TVA Act.

Under the TVA Act the Authority was directed by Congress to plan, construct and operate a system "to regulate the stream flow primarily for the purposes of promoting navigation and controlling floods," and to produce electric power "so far as may be practicable to assist in liquidating the cost or aid in the maintenance of the projects of the Authority."

IN THE 18 years that followed the nation invested $1,035 million in the Tennessee Valley. Of this total $638 million was assigned directly to power costs and $397 million divided between power, navigation and flood control. The multipurpose nature of the enterprise, that no private corporation could attempt, provided each service of TVA at minimum cost. A single-purpose flood control system would have cost the nation $257 million. The same benefits were gained by TVA's multipurpose system for $178 million. A single-purpose navigation system would have cost $232 million. TVA provided the same navigation for $155 million. Beyond these capital costs, TVA's power revenues amounted to $591 million between 1933 and 1952. Five percent of the gross was paid in state and county taxes, doubling the payments of the utilities TVA replaced. $66 million was paid back to the Treasury, amounting to a new return of 4.3 percent on the federal government's power investment. The cries of "unfair competition" from the private utilities wholly ignored the essential fact about TVA: that it was the multipurpose nature of the system that made possible TVA's unparalleled performance.

The steam plants in contrast are built for power alone. Therefore, the opponents of TVA argue, they violate the spirit of the TVA Act which intended the generation of electric power to be a supplementary activity of TVA.

At first sight there is plausibility in this argument—but only at first sight. For in 1939, after extensive hearings and debate, Congress conferred upon TVA responsibility for the power supply of the Valley, by amendment to the TVA Act which instructed TVA to produce its power at the lowest possible cost and for the widest possible use. That action by the national legislature required the integration of all generating plants in the region into the TVA system. The TVA area was then defined by the majority vote of the region as each city and rural district chose to buy out the distribution systems of the utilities or else to continue their services.

As the sole supplier of power TVA was compelled by legislation and contract to use existing steam plants to firm up the variable flow of hydroelectric power. It was compelled later to build steam plants when the demands of the valley outran its hydroelectric resources. Those demands were enormously accelerated when atomic bomb construction was centered in the valley. The John Sevier, Gallatin, Widow's Creek and Kingston steam plants were all built in response to the needs of the Atomic Energy Commission installations at Oak Ridge. The Shawnee plant was built solely to provide power for the AEC installations at Paducah. Last year, of the 30 billion kilowatt hours of electricity generated by TVA, 12 billion were consumed by AEC and another 10 billion by defense industries. TVA was established for the valley, and is now condemned by President Eisenhower for serving the valley at the nation's expense. Yet 70 percent of TVA's power supply goes to the federal government, free of the tribute of overcharges and profits levied by the private utilities.

Of all the steam plants built since the war Johnsonville alone was intended to provide for the normal load growth of the valley. But the valley has additional needs of its own that continue to grow. Conservative forecasts show that its power load, exclusive of government and defense installations, will double from 1952 to 1956.

It takes three years to build a steam plant. Accordingly TVA presents to the government each year its estimates of power demands to be anticipated three years ahead. From its earliest days TVA's estimates have been ridiculed by private utility interests as absurdly large. But the record shows that TVA has underestimated its needs since the war.

	(Millions of Kilowatts)	
Year	*Estimated Demand*	*Actual Demand*
1950	2.7	3.2
1951	2.9	3.8
1952	3.5	4.2

For the immediate future, thanks to the expansion authorized by President Truman and the Democratic 82nd Congress, the valley's needs will be met.

	(Millions of Kilowatts)	
Year	*Estimated Demand*	*Authorized Capacity*
1954	6.1	7.1
1955	7.1	8.8
1956	9.6	9.0

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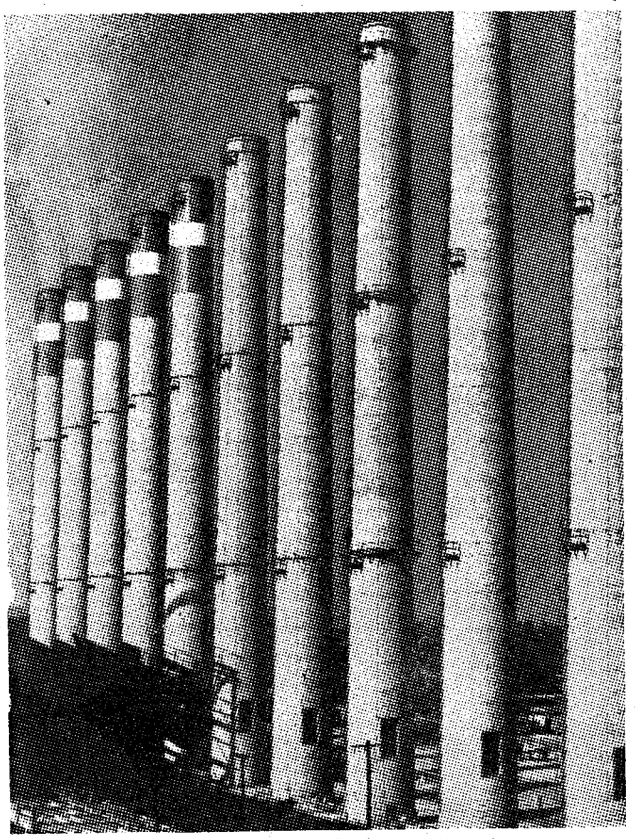
By Summer of 1957, as the result of capacity authorized before Mr. Eisenhower took office, TVA will have just over 10 million kilowatts of capacity or barely enough to meet foreseeable demands. But 1958 is already upon us in terms of providing for known needs.

In the hearings of the House Appropriations Subcommittee held in President Eisenhower's first year in office, the TVA spokesman, R. A. Kampmeier, estimated that TVA power loads were growing at the rate of at least 750,000 kilowatts a year. "The growth would be more rapid," Kampmeier added, "if there are any large new developments of the sort that the Atomic Energy Commission's program has resulted in."

In their program sent first to the Bureau of Budget in the Autumn of 1953, the TVA directors called for one additional unit at John Sevier, one at Kingston, and two at the proposed new Fulton plant in the TVA budget for fiscal 1955. The provision of these requirements was the clear responsibility of TVA and of the President under the TVA Act. The logical and honorable course for the President, given his well-concealed attitude toward TVA, would have been to approve the immediate budget, and at the same time to call upon the directors to bring back in six months' time a well-prepared plan to free the federal treasury of recurring appropriations for TVA. Instead the President and his Director of the Bureau of the Budget threw out the TVA requests without even considering them. After casting around for any substitute they induced Edgar Dixon and Eugene Yates to submit their ill-considered scheme to establish a utility beachhead on TVA territory. Their proposed plant, 250 miles from the nearest AEC installation, was presented quite falsely by the President and his advisers as a "replacement" for AEC's power needs. Their proposal was a mockery of private enterprise since the only way in which they could approach TVA costs was to force upon government the risks of operation. Yet even as a stopgap measure the Dixon-Yates plant is of little use. The President and his advisers have claimed that the 600,000 kilowatts to be provided by the Dixon-Yates plant will overcome the pending shortage of power in the Tennessee Valley. That is plain nonsense, as the tables cited show. They have claimed further that the Dixon-Yates plan gives them time to consider the long-range future of TVA. But time is running out as the days roll past in which the future dimout of power in the valley can be prevented. So the refusal of the President to acknowledge his responsibility has created turmoil in the valley. His obvious and almost mean hostility toward TVA casts the future of the region in doubt.



Steam generating plant at Shawnee in Kentucky

THE doubt still hangs over the valley today. It dominates the calculations of businessmen as they wonder whether to locate new factories in a region where power supplies are uncertain. It justifies the boycott of the valley by the manufacturers of electrical appliances who have obeyed the instructions of the utilities in their war on TVA. It arouses Memphis whose leaders are considering building a municipal power plant rather than placing their city in the hands of Dixon and Yates. It worries Nashville whose leaders argue that if Memphis builds a plant, Nashville must follow suit. The doubt harasses the Governor of Tennessee whose state is falling behind in the South's race for industrialization. It frightens the officials of the rural co-operatives who are being told by utility spokesmen that they had better learn to "co-operate" now while they can. Above all the doubt haunts the officials of the TVA itself who have given their best years to the agency and wonder now if their life's work is to be destroyed.

TVA remains very much more than public power. But unless it can provide ample power for the valley all its other services must collapse. In this struggle, to fulfil its responsibilities as a power supplier, TVA stands at a disadvantage, for the rising generation takes for granted the cheap power its parents fought to win, while against TVA remains unchanged the group George Norris called "the irreconcilable, embittered and uncompromising enemy—the power trust." At its instigation Calvin Coolidge and Herbert Hoover vetoed the first TVA bills in 1926 and 1928 insisting that public power could only fail. Now that it has succeeded, their successor in the White House is determined still that it must fail, like a child that wounds itself to prove its parents wrong.

(A fourth and final article on the TVA today will appear in next week's NR.)

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BOOKS & COMMENT

The Success of the Highbrow Paper-backs

by Seymour Krim

THE latest shot in the arm which the rather over-stimulated book business has received is the influx of the new lines of paper-back, quality books. It is no secret that the American book business is going through a fundamental change of life, with its ultimate personality still in doubt. First came the thousands of popular soft-cover books competing for the eye and loose change of thousands of ordinary citizens, and creating in its wake much consternation in the once calm hard-cover publishing houses. Now has come the latest and more significant challenge to the empire of the Cloth-bound Book: the series of excellent, highbrow titles which are breaking out like spring all over, and which have led to the slightly surrealist phenomenon of Kierkegaard and David Reisman fighting with Frank Yerby for best-seller honors. (Yerby is still several million copies ahead; but just as dealers mention all three writers in the same breath to salesmen, so will the common reader soon be familiarizing himself with once exotic names.)

By the spring of 1955 there will be at least seven companies publishing the best kind of modern books, in paper editions, at prices ranging from $.65 to $1.95. These include Anchor Books—the US pioneer in this line—Vintage, Meridian, Image (only Catholic titles, but some excellent ones including Bernanos' *The Diary of a Country Priest* and Karl Adam's *Spirit of Catholicism*) and Anvil Books, and the Grove and Beacon Presses. And this does not include such outfits as the Modern Library and The New American Library's Mentor Series, both of whom have made solid contributions, but whose standing is compromised by New American's semi-popular approach and by the Modern Library's uncertainty as to continuing in the paper-back business.

Before examining the manner in which this healthy division of paper-back publishing got under way in America, it is impossible, and downright unfair, to avoid mentioning England's Penguin Books and its guiding hand, Sir Allen Lane. As people in the field will tell you, Penguin and Sir Allen were the innovators in this form of literate publishing, and the present writer can remember himself when a friend brought home from England some precious, out-of-print Evelyn Waughs in the shilling and sixpence Penguin edition, and could have made a small fortune by renting them out. From 1935 until at least 1945 no one could touch Penguin in the paper-back reprint field. It was the acknowledged leader. Penguin has recently published its thousandth title—and practically the entire thousand would qualify as reading material you wouldn't be ashamed to give Einstein on his birthday—and close to 250 million copies have been sold since Penguin commenced its mass marketing techniques in 1935.

It is quite likely that Penguin's example had a good deal to do with the blossoming of popular paper-back books in this country after the war. But except for occasional elegant titles and names —such as New American Library's cracking the ice with books by A. N. Whitehead and Suzanne Langer, in its for-then daring Mentor series—no one was willing to take a chance on a line devoted to exclusively quality literature. In fact, people in the trade were even a little astonished when authors like Steinbeck and John O'Hara sold in the hundreds of thousands, and if their reaction now seems a little naïve or condescending, it was quite understandable at the time. America was not, by a long shot, England. America was the country where for years the prevailing attitude in radio, movies or any of the mass entertainment media had been to soberly regard the average customer as possessing the intelligence of a 14-year-old. H. L. Mencken, in fact, had built a glorious career of wrath on just this premise of "boobocracy." The thought that an American paper-back book company would one day publish something like *The Metaphysical Foundations of Modern Physical Science*, and make a profit doing so, would have brought calls for a head-doctor.

It is at this point that a bright young guy of vision, named Jason Epstein, steps into the picture and changes it. Epstein, a Columbia graduate not yet 30, had been working at Doubleday & Co. as a regular hard-cover book editor when the idea for a line of the best modern books in paper format took shape in his mind. The product of a new point of view, that of the modern American university, where a decade and a half of writer-teachers have familiarized thousands of students with books whose very titles their parents never heard of, Epstein logically saw a basic market for his idea in and around universities.

Several of the books he wanted to reprint in paper editions were out of print, a further inducement to readers and the ultimate success of his plan; also, they were to be modestly priced at from $.65 to $.95, and very attractively done up. Thus in April, 1953, after a good deal of planning, the newly formed Anchor Books subsidiary of Doubleday & Co. released its first titles in printings of 20,000 each. These included such volumes as Cassirer's *An Essay on Man*, Francis Fergusson's *The Idea of a Theater*, D. H. Lawrence's *Studies in Classic American Literature*, Edmund Wilson's *To the Finland Station*, etc. The quality was top-notch and the response excellent; every title that Anchor Books has presented has sold out its first printing, and after a year Anchor upped its initial printing to 37,500 in response to the demand. Its number one best seller so far is David Riesman's *The Lonely Crowd*, which has gone over the 60,000 mark.

FOR book-store owners the Anchor plan was as gratifying as it was to readers, for instead of getting the small commission on sales offered by the typical paper-back firm, they receive the hard-cover book discount and make a larger profit. Most book-stores will therefore display Anchor Books and its new successors (all of whom distribute the books themselves, rather than through the big magazine distributors used by the popular soft-cover firms, and give the same larger profit) more conspicuously to catch the customer's eye.

At this writing, Anchor Books has

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released 43 titles to their new intellectual audience, and sold well over a million copies of their books. Not one of the titles has catered to "popular" taste, and all were chosen on the basis of what Mr. Epstein personally liked and respected. Hopeful as this response is, it should be kept in mind that around 60 percent of Anchor sales have been made in university areas—still a somewhat specialized audience before one can proclaim an intellectual millenium in this country.

YET the future is interesting. Anchor will now release 18 to 24 titles a year—with such interesting books as Bernard Shaw's music criticism and the journals of the de Goncourts coming out soon—and they will also publish a few originals. Mr. Epstein's plan is for four of these a year, and those already scheduled include a critical work by Wylie Sypher and some unusual anthologies of plays by Eric Bentley. How far Anchor Books will go in the publishing of original books remains to be seen, although it is one of the most interesting angles to the entire paper-back insurrection. But apart from that, the contribution already made by Mr. Epstein and Anchor Books is without doubt an original step, and a courageous one, and its effect can now be seen in the entire field.

After a year of watching and waiting to see how Anchor would fare, Alfred Knopf, Inc., on September of this year unloaded its own paper-back troops on the Doubleday beachhead. Vintage Books was founded—technically an autonomous concern, only using the parent firm as distributor—and it had the entire Knopf list to draw upon, a list that shrewd taste through the years had made one of the finest in the entire hard-cover business. Vintage has one or two differences from Anchor. All their books are priced at $.95, and all were originally published by Knopf; but their authors—including Thomas Mann, Alexis de Tocqueville, Randall Jarrell and Albert Camus—are of the same general calibre as Anchor's and reach approximately the same audience. Vintage, headed by Alfred Knopf Jr., will have nineteen distinguished titles on the stands by the middle of April, and also depends strongly on college book-store trade. (So strongly, in fact, that Vintage selected its first titles only after questionnaires had been sent to the owners of college book-stores.) Since the original Knopf list is deep and broad, the source of Vintage material will be rich for some time to come. Alfred Knopf Jr. already calls his project "successful," and unless the market for soft-cover quality books becomes as over-competitive as the popular low-priced market—which led to a production crisis and a good deal of nervousness in that rich pasture earlier this year—Vintage Books has a happy future.

With Anchor firmly established, and Vintage successfully launched, other companies have been quick to see the light of low-priced quality books. Image Books represents Doubleday pursuing this idea from another angle. Also begun this year, Image is tapping the vast Catholic market, selling through churches and parochial schools as well as book-stores. Every Image book, though the same as Anchor in format, is restricted to Catholic material, but the level has been extremely high so far.

Noonday Press, one of the new crop of small but top-level New York publishing houses begun by young literary people, will offer its Meridian Book line in February, with such authors as Herbert Read, Jacob Burckhardt, E. M. Forster and Jacques Maritain. Meridian prices will be somewhat higher than either Anchor or Vintage, ranging from $1.00 to $1.95 according to length, but they will have a stitched binding, rather than the usual pasting job, to assure longer life and facilitate their use in schools and libraries. Also coming by spring are Anvil Books, at $1.25, which will specialize in originals in the social sciences and history, and is under the guidance of Prof. Louis L. Snyder of the History Department of the City College of New York. Anvil's line will be available to the average adult customer, but it is obviously going after the college student with unconcealed directness, since much of its material will be used as text books and is being written with that in view. Some of Anvil's authors will include Hans Kohn, Peter Viereck and Sidney Hook.

GROVE PRESS is also scheduled to make its debut in the low-cost quality field by the spring of 1955, with twelve titles ranging in price from $1.00 to $1.50, and including such authors as Raymond Radiguet, Simone de Beauvoir, Henry James and Herman Melville. Grove will also put a few originals, as well as reissues, into soft-cover books, but each time they do an original they will simultaneously publish it in a hard-cover — a catch-'em-any-way-you-can practice introduced by Simon & Schuster some years ago. And rounding out the list of the new low-cost publishers is the well-known Beacon Press of Boston, which early in 1955 will issue both reprints and originals at $1.25 up to $1.95, depending on length. Among the first Beacon titles will be an Albert Schweitzer anthology, George Orwell's *Homage to Catalonia*, and Leslie Fiedler's *The End of Innocence*, a collection of his literary criticism.

Nor is this activity all—it only accounts for those companies who are now engaged in publishing low-cost quality books, or who will be by 1955. Perhaps the most interesting part of the entire story is what is now hush-hush and going on behind closed doors; the various unannounced huddles that are taking place at Harcourt Brace, Viking, Random House, and the majority of the old established New York hard-cover publishers. All of these companies are thinking seriously of invading the new field, and it would surprise no one if they were in it within a year.

NO one in the book business would be brave or foolish enough to predict where this development will end. But one fact is clear: it is the reader who, if he can keep his balance among the hundreds of fine titles asking for his attention, is the winner. There are more excellent books to choose from today than ever before in the country's history, and all are within the means of all. Whatever the motives of each individual low-cost publisher, it is making for a truly democratic cornucopia of the written word, and would have been heartily approved by Walt Whitman (even though he would've had trouble understanding or sympathizing with a few of the more pretentious titles which have been exhumed in the zeal to lift our brows permanently). But more important of all, it may very well be the beginning of what many writers and editorial people have hoped for a long time: a book publishing business in which *everything new* is published in an inexpensive paperback edition, with hard-covers reserved for de luxe editions. Then we would really see what a living American literature can be like.

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The Good Neighbor vs. The Big Stick

by Betty Kirk

At a time when relations between the United States and its southern neighbors are at a turning point any book that illuminates the nature of this crisis makes a contribution toward understanding its cause. It is against this backdrop that Daniel James' analysis and reporting of events in Guatemala for the past decade appears. It is a book of energetic and scholarly reporting, yet of occasionally misleading interpretation. And because of its frequently inflammatory tone it must be considered with caution lest fanatics should use it to start a witch-hunt below the Rio Grande.

Red Design for the Americas: Guatemalan Prelude, by Daniel James (John Day; $4.50).

One's first impression after reading his documented exposé of Communist penetration in the largest of the Central American states, is that the only answer is to send the Marines. Mr. James in fact predicts that such a solution may be in the offing for the whole of Latin America if Communist subversion there continues to increase. "The battle of the Western Hemisphere has begun," his opening sentence declares. "We face the possibility even of war—war on our own shores of the kind hitherto characteristic of Asia. Such is the ultimate meaning of Moscow's first attempt to conquer an American country, Guatemala."

My own reaction to such a statement is that there is nothing that could please Moscow more. For if we fell into the trap of committing armed aggression against our southern neighbors in order to purge "Reds," we would deliver to the Communists a triumph they could not win without our aid. That is to split the hemisphere into two warring camps.

The author, after having made this unhappy prophecy, follows with the report that the last armed conflict (in Guatemala) increased, rather than diminished, Communist prestige. He enumerates many of the protests occurring from the Rio Grande to Cape Horn and states that "No one could recall so intense and universal a wave of anti-United States sentiment in the entire history of Latin America." In this, and in the statement that all of this antagonism was not due to Communists alone, he is basically correct. But I differ with his conclusion that such hostility was inspired by a "deep rooted prejudice against the 'Colossus of the North'." For *prejudice* I would substitute *fear*, fear that our mailed fist would strike other neighbors next. "Guatemala Today, Mexico Tomorrow" was the theme of one protest here.

It is in such interpretations that Mr. James' treatment of the complex problems here is often misleading. His reporting on Mexico is frequently superficial, he does not reveal the underlying causes for the events that he records. He writes, as an example, that during the pro-Guatemala demonstrations students and workers demonstrated *against the United States*. There were, it is true, a few such anti-United States manifestations, but the majority of the protests made here cautiously avoided attacking their northern neighbor. Instead they explicitly attacked Dollar Diplomacy and the Big Stick, dramatized the Good Neighbor Policy as a corpse and carried wreaths for its burial. This was conspicuously the case in the student demonstrations led by Cuauhtemoc Cardenas, son of the former president.

Neither were the criticisms made here limited to workers and students. The most ominous of them came from non-Communist intellectuals and professional men, many of whom had been traditionally friendly to the United States. Indignation, in brief, was expressed against the policies of the Eisenhower government, not against the North American people. And the distinction found therein is of first importance to an understanding of what is wrong in Latin America today.

It is indeed the most significant fact of the moment in the southern part of our hemisphere. For it was the neglect of the formerly dynamic Good Neighbor Policy during the closing years of the Truman regime, and the reversal of its principles in two years of government by the Republicans, that has precipitated the crisis in Latin America today. This is a radical turn of events, with deplorable consequences, that Mr. James does not report. When fixing the blame for Communist expansion in the Central American states he fails to reveal the about face in our own policies which has made the Communist gains possible. This in spite of the fact that within the past year three of our top experts have disassociated themselves with current Latin American affairs in protest against policies promoted by Secretaries Humphrey and Dulles. These men are: John Moors Cabot, formerly Under-Secretary of State for Latin American Affairs; Merwin Bohan, chief economic adviser on Latin American affairs to the State Department, and the President's brother, Dr. Milton Eisenhower.

It is a similar approach that the author employs when he declares that the United States did not actively intervene in the Guatemalan Civil War. In this he differs from at least two other responsible sources. The pro-administration *Time* magazine, which had an able staff covering the event, reports in its Latin American edition of July 12th:

> The impression now almost universally held in Guatemala is that the United States at that point (six months previously) moved cautiously in to guide affairs. There is still no direct evidence of this. But hindsight reasoning indicates that the U. S. Central Intelligence Agency correctly appraised Arbenz' fundamental unpopularity . . . also made a sound estimate of Castillo Armas' capabilities . . . Circumstantial support for this theory comes from the known facts . . . Castillo Armas got money . . . perhaps as much as $5,000,000. He got airplanes; four F-47 fighters and two C-47 cargo planes. He also got expert pilots to fly them. . . . " [And in an additional passage *Time* reports] ". . . It was abundantly clear that U. S. Ambassador John Peurifoy masterminded most of the changes once Castillo Armas began his revolt.

A second source on the subject of intervention is the *Manchester Guardian*, publishing a series of articles by Marcel Niedergang, their reporter on the scene. In its July 26th issue, he writes:

> We must call a spade a spade. The Guatemalan war was an American intervention in Latin America. Washington encouraged and helped an opposition movement essentially military and anti-Communist. . . . This inter-

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vention constituted a grave setback to America's "Good Neighbor" Policy. And it has given the Soviet Union a moral victory which that country could not have won for itself so quickly. . . .

THESE passages are cited to clarify our own responsibility for the suspicion and hostility against us now prevalent in Latin America. And they differ from the author's presentation in which he places major blame upon the inept governments ruling in Guatemala since 1944, and upon the ruthless—and successful—machinations of Communists and their allies. On occasion he mentions the failure of our officials to cope with the storm gathering there since 1944 but the leading villains in his piece are the "Reds." He likewise names as the root of the trouble in Guatemala, as well as throughout Latin America, the existence of abject poverty, an unequal distribution of wealth, absentee landlordism, corrupt rule by local strong men, and economic instability. These explosive factors, that make Communism not only possible but almost inevitable, have existed since before the Russian Revolution, and if their exploitation has now fallen into the hands of the enemy, to be used against us, it is because we have failed to assert a sufficiently strong leadership in seeking their cure.

The best contribution that the author makes is his detailed account of how the Communists penetrated and seized control of the Arbenz government. This is excellent reporting and it demonstrates what will happen elsewhere in Latin America if we remain indifferent and asleep. However one wishes that at the same time he had accounted for the ineffectiveness of our own representatives in the Central American and Caribbean areas for the past ten years. We have not only embassies and legations throughout the area, but also innumerable military intelligence officers, economic and Point 4 missions, and United Nations investigating bodies there. Why then couldn't these experts have exposed the grave threats before it was too late? (My own guess is that they did accurately report, but that their warnings were ignored by a Washington absorbed in the far shores of Europe and Asia and the neat nuisance of McCarthy.)

Mr. James also makes an elaborate comparison of Guatemala's agrarian reform with that of China under Mao Tse-tung and finds close similarity between the two. As an obvious student of Chinese affairs, as well as of Marxism in general, he has even concocted a new word to describe the present threat in the nation to the south. This is "Maoism," which he translates as Communist exploitation of nationalism. In pointing the way toward solutions of the Guatemalan problem, I believe he would have served his readers better had he not gone so far afield. He could have made a major contribution had he contrasted the extremes of agrarian reforms under Communist leadership in Guatemala, with the successful land reforms made under Socialist principles in Mexico.

He presents, in conclusion, a program for curing many of the evils that now exist in Guatemala. This includes: maintenance of a stable, progressive and democratic regime; curbs on private United States business interests to prevent their repeating mistakes, and expansion of technical aid and cultural progress. (He fails to suggest fundamental economic reforms). Unless such a program is put into effect, he warns that there "will be an era of protracted struggle against Communism which may be marked by wars and revolutions, of which the Guatemalan civil war is a foretaste."

What may prove to be the last peaceful appeal to Uncle Sam has just been made in Rio. What the Latin Americas are asking for is the revival of the Good Neighbor Policy, under which they thrived and collaborated for almost twenty years. And according to the answer that Secretary Humphrey gives them, Communism will either spread or decline in the Americas. The ultimate solution lies in Washington with the party in power, not in Moscow with the Cominform. Only if we fail to furnish it will the "Red Design for the Americas" become a reality instead of a threat.

The Memoirs of a Pie-Throwing Man

by Gilbert Seldes

IN SPITE of the spurious language, the old gag about Grimaldi brought up to date and foisted on the Fratellini (whose name is misspelled), the too patly remembered conversations, and all the other fakeries that have become standard in the "as told to" books, this story of Mack Sennett's has so much to tell and has such a core of honesty, that I found myself undergoing a kind of enchantment. In part it was, of course, the magic of the flying custard pies and the twenty cops piling out of one Model-T, and in part it was the magic of a genuine and rather heartbreaking love story—the love of Mack Sennett for the completely adorable Mabel Normand. She is so much the heroine of the book that Sennett credits her with throwing the first custard pie, not by design, but because she had it handy; and at the same time Sennett is so good at his own job that as he tells this not necessarily true story, he adds the essential: Ben Turpin, into whose cross-eyed face the pie was thrown, had no idea it was coming. Sennett knows that one reason the Keystone custards were so much more effective than those of his rivals was that a Keystone comedian never spoiled the throw by appearing to expect it.

King of Comedy, by Mack Sennett, as told to Cameron Shipp (Doubleday; $4.50).

Years after he had begun making his full-length masterpieces, Chaplin said, "I'd like to throw a pie again, but I wouldn't be good at it." He knew you had to have conviction in your arm, and as a matter of detail, he never was the best of the hurlers. His style was more picking up twenty meringues or baseballs and shying them one after the other so that their trajectories made a line across the screen — and it was the throw, not the splash in the victim's face that was especially funny. Sennett understood Chaplin well enough from the start to omit the pie-throwing from almost all of the pictures they made together, to omit also the chase except when Chaplin was the fugitive; and the third sign of the Keystones, the Bathing Beauties, didn't arrive until after Chap-

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lin had made it clear that "anything that diverts the camera's eye from Chaplin himself is likely to be a waste of celluloid." Except Mabel. In *Mabel's Married Life* "she stole the picture by mimicking Chaplin."

THERE was a good deal of gentility rampant in films even in the days of Keystone comedy and slapstick was the natural antidote. Sennett and his merry crews (which at times included Frank Capra and Wallace Beery and Gloria Swanson and W. C. Fields) were better at their business than anyone else and the reasons are simple: they thought their stuff was terribly funny, they believed in it; and they made it up. They made it up in talk for a day or two and then they took a stepladder and maybe a pail of whitewash and a pretty girl into a park or a zoo—and what more did they need?

Sound didn't kill the Sennett approach; the pictures he made with Bing Crosby were little masterpieces and the 2-reelers with Fields were magnificent. But sound brought in the feature-extravaganza and the Marx Brothers and the double-feature was coming along—and Keystones bowed out. For them I see no need to weep; we had them, they had a fine life, they have gone. I wish only that some of the great roaring vulgarity they handled so well were current now. For the movies are bright in dialogue, but mincingly polite in physical action; and in television everything is as dainty as the inside of the refrigerator into which Betty Furness peers—with every can and bottle and container toeing the mark. Comedy is the last refuge of the non-conformist mind—or should be. When the comedians themselves begin to conform, where shall we find the atmosphere of freedom?

There is another facet of interest in King of Comedy. Around these lighthearted players, violence and sudden death became all too common. Fatty Arbuckle was involved in an ugly affair although he was declared not guilty of murder. Mabel Normand was a witness in the investigation into the death of William Desmond Taylor—a still unsolved mystery. On the assumption that she had been his mistress, if not his murderess, virtuous women all over the country protested against the showing of her pictures. She made a comeback with a costume-comedy called *Suzanna* and Robert Sherwood wrote "she is still the first comedienne of the silent drama . . . you can't imagine (her) doing anything stupid or dull or obvious. . . ." He was right. Mabel Normand had the rare combination which appeared again in Carole Lombard and in our time in Lucille Ball—tremendous sexual attraction and the instinct for broad farce. Sennett implies that he was so intent on business, which meant the exploitation of Mabel's talents, that he didn't devote himself enough to her other attractions; they were engaged a score of times but they would "hear stories" about one another. He wishes he had tried to know her better, to understand her. He becomes reticent after a certain point.

But in that portion of the book he is telling a true and sadly moving story. I met Mabel Normand toward the end of her life—she was probably recuperating after a long dissipation and she was completely enchanting. We planned to do a simple movie and I got the rights on Sherwood Anderson's *I'm a Fool*. That's as far as it went, but I can understand the sadness in the heart of the king of comedy.

The Night Before the Morning After

by Gerald Weales

'Twas the night before Christmas, an annual venture.
Not a creature was stirring, not even a censure.
The issues were hung undisturbed in the air
In the hope that no one would notice them there.
The Congress was nestled all snug in its bed,
While visions of '56 danced through its head.
Mamie in her kerchief and Ike in his cap
Had just settled in for a newspaperless nap,
When by Harry's back porch there arose such hallooing,
Ike sprang from the bed to see what Joe was doing.
It took only one moment to set matters clear,
For out in Wisconsin they don't raise reindeer.
Ike sighed and he smiled, his fears were all laid;
It was only the gent from the Macy's parade,
Who reined in his deer, as if *he* controlled *them*,
As he sat in a chrome-plated sleigh from GM.
Then up leaped the deer from where they'd been standing,
Came soft on the roof like the Columbine landing.
He left them untethered for they were so tame
And, quick as a contract, down the chimney he came.
He was a round little man, replete with affection,
As dear to Ike's heart as a landslide election.
He said not a word (or he wouldn't be quoted)
But opened the bag full of treasures he toted,
Began to unload all the rich Christmas rations,
Leaving first a kind word for the United Nations.
He offered to put between war and peace, distance,
By leaving the hope of, at least, co-existence.
He left dixon for Yates and a yates there for Dixon,
And a new plain, cloth coat for Mrs. Dick Nixon.
Some new clothes for Mamie, a golf ball for Dwight
And then up the chimney he rose out of sight.
His take-off was swift from the White House high ridges,
On Adams! On Dulles! Soft Knowland! Soft Bridges!
And Ike heard him exclaim as he drove out of sight,
"Merry Christmas to all and to all a good-night."

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War Crimes and War Criminals

by Manfred Wolfson

POSSIBLY it is no more than a coincidence that the publication of three books, stressing different aspects of recent German history, occurs at a time when Western Germany may soon regain practical sovereignty.

The Secret Front purports to report the story of Nazi political espionage while trying to establish the author as an early and influential member of the anti-Hitler opposition within Germany. The reader is confused in the very first paragraph, where the author claims membership in what is called the "German Secret Service," without correctly defining the SD (the intelligence service of the Security Police), which under Himmler and Heydrich competed with the regular governmental ministries and the Army Intelligence Agency (*Abwehr*). After stating that efforts were made by the German Secret Service (through contacts with the Vatican) to negotiate a truce with the Western allies, Hoettl claims:

> . . . as early as 1940 my group in the German Secret Service had made its first attempts to persuade the German Government to make concessions in favor of the Catholic Church in Germany, and thereby to enlist the sympathetic co-operation of the Vatican as an intermediary with the allies.

Who is this author, who today furthermore defiantly claims, "I am Germany's only big-time spy who is still alive"?

Wilhelm Hoettl was born in 1915 in Vienna where he also attended the university, specializing in German, History, and Geography. After 1931 he was affiliated with the Nazi movement, joining the Nazi Party and the SS in 1934. While at the university he worked actively in the then illegal Nazi movement, especially in the SS Communications Battalion in Vienna, receiving promotion to the rank of SS Lieutenant in 1937 from Kaltenbrunner, then chief of the SS subversive operations in the Austrian region. During the same year he completed his dissertation on Friedrich Jahn and the German *Turnbewegung* and received his doctorate. After working briefly for an export firm, he decided to advance his career by becoming a full-time agent of the SD. After Hitler's march into Austria, Hoettl activated two SD sections (directed against Freemasons and Jews) to supply intelligence for the Vienna Gestapo units. In addition to this assignment, from 1940 he acted as a deputy at Vienna for the Berlin Amt VI (co-ordinating SD activities outside of Germany) with emphasis on South-Eastern Europe.

Yet, within the Vienna SD, complaints were being registered against SS Captain Hoettl for mixing official and private affairs. His superiors objected to his association with Catholic intellectuals —considered a threat to Hoettl's ideological framework. Moreover he had abused his authority by intervening for one of his agents, a Polish Countess who, with friends in the Polish nobility, wanted to acquire property which had been confiscated by the Nazis. In seeking support for other questionable business operations, he had frequently lied to his superiors.

In the Vienna office Hoettl was distrusted and disliked for claiming credit for work done by other research workers. The lengthy record of the SS investigation of Hoettl dated 1942 describes him as "dishonest, scheming, fawning, ambitious, lacking comradeship . . . a real hoaxer," and he received a censure rating him "unsuited for permanent SD work, strictly speaking also for the SS." After Heydrich's assassination, and under Kaltenbrunner, who had known Hoettl from their joint pre-*Anschluss* activity, his career took an upward turn leading to his promotion to SS Major in November, 1943.

In detailing these events, substantiated by captured documents, I have hoped to show that in spite of statements introducing the author as honest, factual and objective, the book must be regarded with extreme caution. Hoettl has not only failed to describe the prevailing operational conditions within the SS leadership, but has treated indiscriminately the power struggle between the competing elites within Nazi Germany, and has, in my judgment, misled the reader about the nature and scope of his own rule.

The reader of the original German edition was asked to accept Hoettl because the "documents . . . have fallen victim to destruction ordered by the German side," while the reader of the American edition is so enjoined because "so many Reich documents were destroyed . . . the bulk of the remaining documents [are] far too numerous for our historians ever to digest fully." The second statement contradicts the first. Both are fallacious. Hoettl, like other SS writers before him, has succeeded in evading the important task of attempting even a partial evaluation of any of the documentary material. In much of the book, he acts as an "inside-dopester," retelling selections from previous work on Himmler, Canaris, etc., without any sources and references, so that it is useless to the student of this important phase of modern totalitarianism.

IN sharp contrast both in respect to the qualifications of the authors and treatment are two other recent books. Whitney R. Harris, Executive Director of the new Center of the American Bar Association at Chicago, was previously trial counsel on the staff of the US prosecution at Nuremberg, where he was in charge of preparing the case against Kaltenbrunner. Lord Russell of Liverpool looks back upon a distinguished career as Deputy Judge Advocate, British Army of the Rhine, where he gave legal advice on all war crimes trials under British Military courts, which led to his appointment as Assistant Judge Advocate General, from which he was compelled to resign on August 8, 1954, because of his refusal to drop publication of his book. Both volumes are largely based upon documents whose validity has been tested in court.

The devilish scheme of Heydrich's agencies, euphemistically called "The Final Solution of the Jewish Question," is mentioned by Hoettl with but a few vague paragraphs. Since captured activity reports of the SD itself have provided irrefutable evidence both before

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The Secret Front: The Story of Nazi Political Espionage by Wilhelm Hoettl (Praeger; $3.95). *Tyranny On Trial: The Evidence at Nuremberg* by Whitney R. Harris (Southern Methodist University Press; $6). *The Scourge of the Swastika: A Short History of Nazi War Crimes* by Lord Russell of Liverpool (Philosophical Library; $4.50).

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the International Military Tribunal and the subsequent "Einsatzgruppen Case" (No. 9), both Harris and Lord Russell devote chapters to the crimes against humanity now known as genocide. Harris recapitulates the record of organized anti-Semitic programs through propaganda, discrimination, segregation and ghetto-ization prior to documenting the extent of the actual physical extermination. Russell expands this material and related testimony by extensive quotations and official photographs of the destruction of the Warsaw Ghetto.

In comparing these excellent books, I prefer *Tyranny on Trial.* Professor Harris has not only included the essentials of Lord Russell's book, but his volume has expanded the presentation in several respects. The reader is faced with a full condensation of the substance of the evidence before the Nuremberg tribunal, available elsewhere only in the combination of the official 42 volume text of the proceedings, and *Nazi Conspiracy and Aggression*, an eight volume work published by the US Government, containing prosecution briefs and other documents in translation. Whitney Harris has written a most meaningful commentary of the main evidence which has been presented under three general headings. "Aggressive War" includes important material for Austria, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Denmark, Norway, Yugoslavia, USSR and Germany's Pact with Italy and Japan prior to Pearl Harbor. "War Crimes" includes material on shootings of hostages, reprisals upon whole families, secret deportation of violators of German laws in occupied areas, murder of parachutists, allied flyers, commandos, prisoners of war, etc., while "Crimes Against Humanity" includes, in addition to the mass murder activities mentioned above, data on Germanization of Poland, Czechoslovakia, Luxembourg and parts of Russia; plunder, spoliation of food, currency, art treasures, etc., slave labor and the struggle against the Christian Churches.

In view of the recent investigation into the Katyn massacre by a House Committee of the 82nd Congress, it is of special interest to compare the material presented at Nuremberg (Russian case, German defense, Russian rebuttal) with that of the Congressional investigation, and its relation to the "AB Action," for from such consideration we learn that the destruction of the Polish intelligentsia in 1940, was carried out in parallel actions by the Nazis *and* the Soviets.

This section condensing an avalanche of documents and trial transcripts with appropriate citations to the basic sources comprises 400 pages. Dr. Harris has added a compact historical treatment of the rise and fall of the Nazi movement and its principal leaders. Perhaps even more valuable are his chapters on the legal origins of these important trials, on the difficult negotiations at London in 1945 leading to the Charter of the International Military Tribunal, the source of the main and twelve subsequent trials at Nuremberg. The objective (in the US position) was not so much the punishment of the defendants, though this was an important process. Rather it was to demonstrate that the waging of aggressive warfare and other violations of the Hague and Geneva conventions are criminal and will be tried under international law with fairness, especially as the defendants will often be nationals of a defeated country.

Since Nuremberg, mankind's attempts to find means to prevent war and the commission of crimes which stagger the imagination by their enormity have been imperfect in several respects, yet the very precedent is undeniably one of the constructive acts of our era. After reading *Tyranny on Trial*, the late Mr. Justice Robert H. Jackson summed up his introductory essay by remarking "that the hard months at Nuremberg were well spent in the most important, enduring, and constructive work of my life."

Dr. Harris must be congratulated for his brilliant volume, with its liberal illustrations and selected bibliography, not only meets the high standards of scholarship which the subject merits, but eight years after the rendering of the Nuremberg judgment, considering the resurgence of the myth merchants, it is perhaps even more indispensable.

Notes on the Critics

SEYMOUR KRIM is a free-lance writer and editor. BETTY KIRK, who has been the Central American correspondent of the *London Times* and the *Manchester Guardian,* is now completing her second book on Latin America. GILBERT SELDES is an authority on the popular arts. MANFRED WOLFSON is on the faculty of the University of California.

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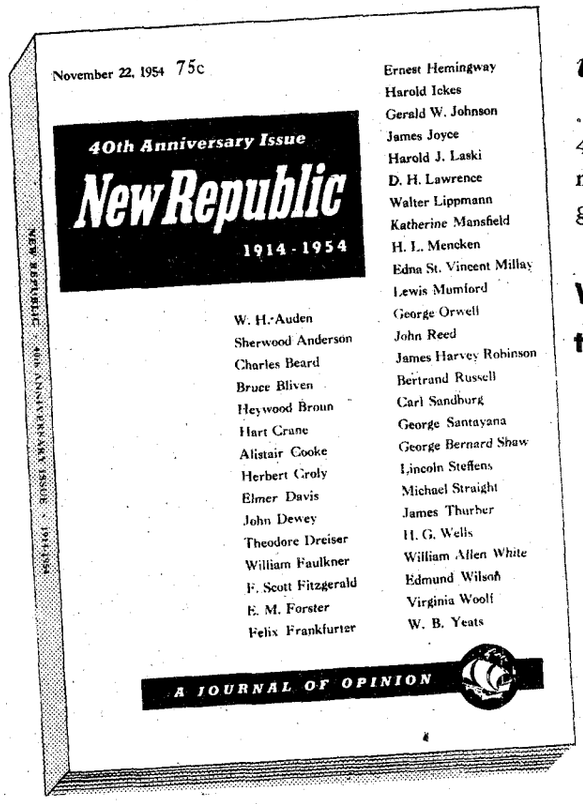

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